1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieß jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
• 628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 598 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
[024] friendly; Urambanji and Saseramen were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[023] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I know they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

437 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the "tunket" for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Qwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Hdowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the Tengwishampa asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Nomb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by Mar and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyap's sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Gwiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Nomb appeared and

787

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalewanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered 754 in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyamps and Doweri and Mawandaya had broken it and

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house temberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwems were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Peyap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them wan but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a mat bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Peyap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers.
[648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large mat bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my mat. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.